

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1037

February 12, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR  
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE  
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE  
THE SECRETARY OF LABOR  
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES  
THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION  
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION  
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY

ALSO: WHITE HOUSE SENIOR STAFF:

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ALONZO MCDONALD  
HEDLEY DONOVAN  
✓ LLOYD CUTLER  
STUART EIZENSTAT  
FRANK MOORE  
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JACK WATSON  
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SUBJECT: The U.S. Response to Afghanistan

The President has asked that officials be reminded that the State of the Union speech contained our basic assessment of

Soviet motives and actions in Afghanistan as well as a description of how we intend to meet this Soviet threat in an area of vital interest to us. He thinks it is particularly important in this context for U.S. officials dealing with this and ancillary problems to be supportive on three points: First, that the Soviet action has broad strategic significance and that it challenges us in an area of vital interest to us. Second, that it takes place against the backdrop of the steady growth and increased projection of Soviet military power beyond their own borders. Third, that there will be no quick return to "business as usual" for the foreseeable future and that our response will remain firm, measured, and for the long haul.

Please pass this on to officials at the policy levels and note especially the underlined portions of the State of the Union speech which support the above points.



Zbigniew Brzezinski

Attachment  
State of the Union Speech

Office of the White House Press Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S  
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
TO THE SECOND SESSION  
OF THE 96TH CONGRESS  
JANUARY 23, 1980

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the 96th Congress, fellow citizens.

As we meet tonight, it has never been more clear that the state of our union depends on the state of the world. And tonight, as throughout our generation, freedom and peace in the world depend on the state of the American union.

The 1980's have been born in turmoil and change. This is a time of challenge to our interests and our values, a time that tests our wisdom and our will.

At this moment in Iran fifty Americans are still held captive, innocent victims of terrorism and anarchy.

Also at this moment, massive Soviet invading forces are attempting to subjugate the fiercely independent and deeply religious people of Afghanistan.

These two acts -- one of international terrorism and one of military aggression -- present a serious challenge to the United States and to the other nations of the world. Together, we will meet these threats to peace.

I am determined that the United States will remain the strongest of all nations, but our power will never be used to initiate a threat to the security of any country or the rights of any human being. We seek to be and to remain secure -- a nation at peace in a stable world. But to be secure we must face the world as it is.

Three basic developments have helped to shape our challenges:

- the steady growth and increased projection of Soviet military power beyond its own borders;
- the overwhelming dependence of the industrial democracies on oil supplies from the Middle East; and
- the press of social, religious, economic and political change in many nations of the developing world -- exemplified by the revolution in Iran.

Each of these factors is important in its own right. Each interacts with the others. All three are now focused on one troubled area of the world. All must be faced together -- squarely and courageously.

We will face these challenges. We will meet them with the best that is in us. And we will not fail.

In response to the abhorrent act in Iran, our nation has been aroused and unified as never before in peacetime. Our position is clear. We will never yield to blackmail.

We continue to pursue these specific goals:

- to protect the present and future interests of the United States;
- to preserve the lives of the American hostages and to seek in every possible way their safe release;
- if possible, to avoid bloodshed which might further endanger the lives of our fellow Americans;
- to enlist the help of other nations to end this criminal violation of the moral and legal standards of a civilized world; and
- to persuade the Iranian leaders that the real danger to their nation lies to the north from Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and that the unwarranted Iranian quarrel with us hampers their response to this greater danger.

If the American hostages are harmed, a severe price will be paid.

We will never rest until every one of the victims is released.

We now face a broader, more fundamental challenge in the region because of the recent military action of the Soviet Union.

Now, as during the last 3-1/2 decades, the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is the most critical factor in determining whether the world will live in peace or be engulfed in global conflict.

Since the end of the Second World War, America has led other nations in meeting the challenge of mounting Soviet power. This has not been a simple or static relationship. Between us there has been cooperation -- there has been competition -- and there have been times of confrontation

- In the 1940's, we took the lead in creating the Atlantic Alliance in response to the Soviet Union's suppression and consolidation of its East European empire and the resulting threat to Western Europe.
- In the 1950's, we helped to contain further Soviet challenges in Korea and the Middle East, and we re-armed, to assure that containment.
- In the 1960's, we met Soviet challenges in the Berlin and Cuban missile crises, and then we sought to engage the Soviet Union in the important task of moving beyond the cold war and away from confrontation.
- And in the 1970's, three American Presidents negotiated with the Soviet leaders in attempts to halt the growth of the nuclear arms race. We sought to establish rules of behavior that would reduce the risks of conflict, and we searched for areas of cooperation that could make our relations reciprocal and productive -- not only for the sake of our two nations, but for the security and peace of the world.

In all these actions, we have maintained two commitments: To be ready to meet any challenge by Soviet military power, and to develop ways to resolve disputes and keep the peace.

Preventing nuclear war is the foremost responsibility of the two superpowers. That is why we negotiated the strategic arms limitation treaties -- SALT I and SALT II. Especially now in a time of great tension, observing the mutual constraints imposed by the terms of these treaties will be in the best interest of both countries -- and will help to preserve world peace. I will consult closely with the Congress as we strive to control nuclear weapons. That effort will not be abandoned.

We superpowers also have a responsibility to exercise restraint in the use of military power. The integrity and the independence of weaker nations must not be threatened.

But now the Soviet Union has taken a radical and aggressive new step. It is using its great military power against a relatively defenseless nation. The implications of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could pose the most serious threat to world peace since the Second World War.

The vast majority of the nations of the world have condemned this latest Soviet attempt to extend its colonial domination of others and have demanded the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces. The Moslem world is especially and justifiably outraged by this aggression against an Islamic people. No action of a world power has ever been so quickly and so overwhelmingly condemned.

But verbal condemnation is not enough. The Soviet Union must pay a concrete price for their aggression. While the invasion continues, we and other countries cannot continue business as usual with the Soviet Union.

That is why the United States has imposed stiff economic penalties on the Soviet Union. I will not permit Soviet ships to fish in the coastal waters of the United States. I have cut Soviet access to high-technology equipment and agricultural products. I have limited other commerce with the Soviet Union, and have asked our allies and friends not to replace these embargoed items. I have notified the Olympic Committee that with Soviet invading forces in Afghanistan, neither the American people nor I will support sending an Olympic team to Moscow.

The Soviet Union must answer some basic questions: Will it help promote a more stable international environment in which its own legitimate, peaceful concerns can be pursued? Or will it continue to expand its military power far beyond its genuine security needs, using that power for colonial conquest?

The Soviet Union must realize that its decision to use military force in Afghanistan will be costly to every political and economic relationship it values.

The region now threatened by Soviet troops in Afghanistan is of great strategic importance: It contains more than two-thirds of the world's exportable oil. The Soviet effort to dominate Afghanistan has brought Soviet military forces to within 300 miles of the Indian Ocean and close to the Straits of Hormuz -- a waterway through which much of the free world's oil must flow. The Soviet Union is now attempting to consolidate a strategic position that poses a grave threat to the free movement of Middle East oil.

This situation demands careful thought, steady nerves, and resolute action -- not only for this year but for many years to come. It demands collective efforts to meet this new threat to security in the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia. It demands the participation of those who rely on oil from the Middle East and are concerned with global peace and stability. And it demands consultation and close cooperation with countries in the area which might be threatened.

Meeting this challenge will take national will, diplomatic and political wisdom, economic sacrifice and, of course, military capability. We must call on the best that is in us to preserve the security of this crucial region.

Let our position be absolutely clear:

An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States. It will be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force.

During the last three years we have acted to improve our own security and the prospects for peace -- not only in the vital oil producing areas of the Persian Gulf region, but around the world.

- We have increased annually our real commitment for defense, and we will sustain this increased effort throughout our Five Year Defense Program. It is imperative that the Congress approve this strong defense budget without any reduction.
- We are improving our capability to deploy U.S. military forces rapidly to distant areas.
- We have helped to strengthen NATO and our other alliances. We and our NATO allies have decided to develop and deploy modernized intermediate-range nuclear forces to meet an unwarranted and increasing threat from the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union.
- We are working with our allies to prevent conflict in the Middle East. The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel is a notable achievement which represents a strategic asset for America and which also enhances prospects for regional and world peace. We are now engaged in further negotiations to provide full autonomy for the people of the West Bank and Gaza, to resolve the Palestinian issue in all its aspects, and to preserve the peace and security of Israel.
- We have expanded our own sphere of friendship. Our deep commitment to human rights and to meeting human needs has improved our relationship with much of the third world. Our decision to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China will help to preserve peace and stability in Asia and in the Western Pacific.
- We have increased and strengthened our naval presence in the Indian Ocean, and we are now making arrangements for key naval and air facilities to be used by our forces in the region of Northeast Africa and the Persian Gulf.

- We have reconfirmed our 1959 agreement to help Pakistan preserve its independence and integrity. The United States will take action -- consistent with our own laws -- to assist Pakistan in resisting any outside aggression. I am asking the Congress specifically to reaffirm this commitment. I am also working, along with other nations, to provide additional military and economic aid for Pakistan.
- In the weeks ahead, we will further strengthen political and military ties with other nations in the region.
- We believe that there are no irreconcilable differences between us and any Islamic people. We respect the faith of Islam, and are ready to cooperate with all Moslem countries.
- Finally, we are prepared to work with other nations in the region to shape a cooperative security framework that respects differing values and political beliefs, yet enhances the independence, security and prosperity of all.

All these efforts emphasize our dedication to defend and preserve the vital interests of our nation and those of our allies, not only in Europe and the Pacific, but also in the part of the world which has such great strategic importance to us, stretching through the Middle East to Southwest Asia.

I will pursue these efforts with vigor and determination, and I will act as necessary to preserve our nation's security.

The men and women of America's armed forces are on duty tonight in many parts of the world. I am proud of the job they are doing, and I know you share that pride. I am convinced that our volunteer forces are adequate for our current defense needs. I hope that it will not become necessary to reimpose the draft. However, we must be prepared for that possibility. For this reason, I have determined that the Selective Service system must now be revitalized. I will send legislation and budget proposals to the Congress next month so that we can begin registration and then meet future mobilization needs rapidly if they arise.

We also need quick passage of a new charter to define clearly the legal authority and accountability of our intelligence agencies. While guaranteeing that abuses will not recur, we need to remove unwarranted restraints on our ability to collect intelligence and to tighten our controls on sensitive intelligence information. An effective intelligence capability is vital to our nation's security.

The decade ahead will be a time of rapid change, as nations everywhere seek to deal with new problems and age-old tensions. But America need have no fear -- we can thrive in a world of change if we remain true to our values and actively engaged in promoting world peace.

We will continue to work as we have in the Middle East and Southern Africa -- to resolve regional disputes. We will continue to build our ties with developing nations, respecting and helping to strengthen the national independence they have struggled to achieve. And we will continue to support the growth of democracy and human rights.

In repressive regimes, popular frustrations often have no outlet except violence. But when peoples and their governments can approach their problems together -- through open, democratic methods -- the basis for stability and peace is far more solid and enduring.

That is why our support for human rights in other countries is in our national interest as well as part of our national character.

Peace -- a peace that preserves freedom -- remains America's first goal. In the coming years as a mighty nation, we will continue to pursue peace.

But to be strong abroad we must remain strong at home. In order to be strong, we must continue to face up to the difficult issues that confront us as a nation today.

The crises in Iran and Afghanistan have dramatized a very important lesson: Our dependence on foreign oil is a clear and present danger to our national security.

The need has never been more urgent. At long last, we must have a clear, comprehensive energy program for our country.

I have been working with Congress in a concentrated and persistent way over the past three years to meet this urgent need.

We have made progress. But Congress must act promptly now to complete final action on this vital energy legislation.

Our nation will then have a major conservation effort, important initiatives to develop solar power, realistic pricing based on the true value of oil, strong incentives for the production of coal and other fossil fuels in America, and our nation's most massive peacetime investment in the development of synthetic fuels.

The American people are making progress in energy conservation. Last year we reduced overall petroleum consumption by 8 percent and gasoline consumption by 5 percent below that of the previous year.

Now we must do more. After consultation with the governors, we will set gasoline conservation goals for each of the 50 states, and I will make them mandatory if these goals are not met.

I have established an import ceiling for 1980 of 8.2 million barrels a day -- well below the level of oil imports during 1977. I expect our imports to be much lower than this, but the ceiling will be enforced with an import fee if necessary. I am prepared to lower our imports still further if other oil consuming countries will join us in a fair and mutual reduction. If we have a serious shortage, I will not hesitate to impose mandatory gasoline rationing.

The biggest single factor in the inflation rate increase last year was from one cause: The skyrocketing world oil prices. We must take whatever actions are necessary to reduce our dependence on foreign oil -- and to reduce inflation.

As individuals and as families, few of us can produce energy by ourselves. But we can all conserve energy -- every one of us, every day of our lives.

Tonight I call on you, on all the people of America, to help our nation. Save energy. Eliminate waste. Let us make 1980 the year of energy conservation.

We must take other actions to strengthen our nation's economy.

First we will continue to reduce the deficit and then to balance the federal budget.



Second, as we continue to work with business to hold down prices, we will build also on the historic national accord with organized labor to restrain pay increases in a fair fight against inflation.

Third, we will continue our successful efforts to cut paperwork and to dismantle unnecessary government regulation.

Fourth, we will continue our progress in providing jobs for America, concentrating on a major new program to provide training and work for our young people, especially minority youth. It has been said that "a mind is a terrible thing to waste." We will give our young people new hope for jobs and a better life in the 1980's.

Fifth, we must use the decade of the 1980's to attack the basic structural problems in our economy, through measures to increase productivity, savings and investment.

With these energy and economic policies, we will make America even stronger at home in this decade -- just as our foreign and defense policies will make us stronger and safer throughout the world.

We will never abandon our struggle for a just and decent society at home. That is the heart of America -- and it is the source of our ability to inspire people to defend their own rights abroad.

Our material resources, great as they are, are limited. Our problems are too complex for simple slogans or quick solutions. We cannot solve them without effort and sacrifice.

It is written that George Washington once reminded us:

"You took the good things for granted. Now you must earn them again. For every right that you cherish, you have a duty which you must fulfill. For every hope that you entertain, you have a task that you must perform. For every good that you wish to preserve, you will have to sacrifice your comfort and your ease.

"There is nothing for nothing any longer."

Our challenges are formidable. But there is a new spirit of unity and resolve in our country. We move into the 1980's with confidence and hope -- and a bright vision of the America we want:

An America strong and free.

An America at peace.

An America with equal rights for women -- and for all citizens.

An America with jobs and good health care and education for every citizen.

An America with a clean and bountiful life in its cities and farms.

An America that helps to feed the world.

An America secure in filling its own energy needs.

An America of justice, tolerance and compassion.

For this vision to come true, we must sacrifice, but this national commitment will be an exciting enterprise that will unify our people.

Together as one people, let us work to build our strength at home.  
Together as one indivisible nation, let us seek peace and security  
throughout the world.

Together let us make of this time of challenge and danger a decade  
of national resolve and of brave achievement.